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CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamsyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamsajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabt* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *more'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 96.

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travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-hor*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 60, in Beni Tusin 12, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 20.

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
[275] sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[784] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to do so with tacit approval from local officials. He opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber transients and Western tourists. Although he came from a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital. However, his values were oriented almost entirely to city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his economic power into social status in his tribe. When
556 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
485 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
472 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
477 They complained to the police (it was rumored that generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office